

JPRS 78399

29 June 1981

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1893

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RISKS OF SOVIET MILITARY INTERVENTION IN POLAND ANALYZED

Paris DEFENSE NATIONALE in French Jan 81 pp 156-158

[Article by Claude Monier: "Poland and Chances of Soviet Military Intervention"]

[Text] After the 26th CPSU Congress and the position statements it prompted, there no longer seems to be any possible doubt that the USSR intends to employ all the means at its disposal to keep Poland in the Soviet camp.

Among these Soviet means, recourse to military intervention must certainly be viewed as the most dangerous possibility

Is such recourse to force possible? What form would it take? What would its limitations be? Is such intervention likely?

Possibilities

Soviet doctrine has never been opposed to armed intervention whenever deemed necessary, but it has also justified all such actual intervention in the name of "the indissolubility and collective defense of the socialist community" and as "fraternal assistance furnished those countries that were the subject of this intervention."

The still recent examples of Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan amply confirm this concept.

From a strictly military standpoint, the size of the Soviet forces, their deployment inside Poland and on its borders, as well as the very high combat readiness level of their component units, make almost immediate military intervention physically possible.* In addition, the Soviet command organization and its integrated interheadquarters communications and liaison system would facilitate coordinated and extremely effective action.

Possible Form

Any intervention employing only limited forces seems quite unlikely. Poland is a vast country of 311,780 square kilometers with a relatively large population

* Soviet forces stationed in Europe: Poland: 2 divisions; GDR: 19 divisions; Czechoslovakia: 5 divisions; Hungary: 4 divisions; Western USSR: about 30 divisions.

of 15.1 million. At the outset of the Polish crisis, social and political disturbances were limited to only certain regions. Since then, however, this agitation has clearly spread throughout the country and is now affecting all fields of activity.

No single specific region would appear to be more susceptible than any other region to an intervention limited in space, and if a reduced force were committed throughout the country, it would quickly become hard-pressed and, therefore, ineffective.

Hence, there is every indication that if any military intervention were initiated, it would be total, massive, and launched suddenly and rapidly. It would no doubt begin and develop according to the usual scenario for all operations of this type: occupation of the capital, seizure of key civil and military command and communications centers. Furthermore, priority would certainly be given to control of Poland's ports and main east-west highways and rail lines that are the "umbilical cord" of the Group of Soviet Forces, Germany.

Limitations

There are, however, two unknowns that weigh heavily on this possibility of intervention.

The first unknown has to do with the attitude of the Polish People's Army. That army's senior commissioned and noncommissioned officers have given the communist party the necessary pledges of loyalty to obtain their present positions. Nevertheless, they still cling to the idea of their national identity. Junior officers and NCO's are closer to the troops, and are, therefore, undoubtedly more responsive to the latter's reactions. The troops--185,000 draftees out of a total personal strength of 317,500 men--are from the semiannual call-up. Hence, draftees of the most recent contingent inducted in late October were civilians during the events which culminated in establishment of the independent trade union Solidarity.

This unknown factor would definitely weigh very heavily in the analysis and estimate of the situation made prior to any intervention. Depending on the results of that analysis, the Soviets would be faced with the alternative of assigning missions to the Polish Army or, on the contrary, simply and solely neutralizing it by force.

The second unknown has to do with the possible employment of contingents from the Warsaw Pact satellite countries. For reasons related to implementation of the doctrine of the solidarity and unity of socialist countries, the armies of those countries would at least be represented by token forces. But the actual size of these contingents would depend on a case-by-case study of the domestic situation in each of the countries in question, and also on Poland's reactions to the presence of foreign soldiers on its soil.

In addition, military intervention in Poland--justified in the Soviet view by a deterioration of the situation in that country--would produce the corollary need to maintain control inside neighboring countries threatened with the contagious virus of instability.

Lastly, although the USSR does have considerable forces poised on Poland's periphery, it cannot allow them to abandon their primary mission which is to serve as covering forces facing the West.

Likelihood of Intervention

Since August 1980, the West has periodically become greatly concerned about any maneuvers or field exercises that may possibly appear to be preparatives for intervention. This concern is certainly justified.

As a matter of fact, at a time when there is no solution to the Polish crisis in sight, it is militarily possible to shift rapidly from the fiction of a large-scale maneuver to the reality of intervention without furnishing any clearly discernible premonitory signs indicating that the worst can be expected.

Whenever the USSR begins extensive maneuvers, it does everything within its power to reassure world opinion about its intentions. At the same time, it nevertheless continues to sustain the tempo of these maneuvers while maintaining and enhancing the operational readiness of its forces.

By playing this twin-faceted game, the USSR insidiously gives credence to the menacing notion that intervention is always likely.

Conclusion

In an address to the 26th CPSU Congress, Stanislaw Kania stressed "the urgent need to stop the counterrevolutionary forces trying to sow anarchy in Poland." In his response, Brezhnev stated that "the pillars of the Polish socialist state were in peril and the USSR would never abandon fraternal socialist Poland in its hour of need."

Consequently, when we consider that, according to Soviet doctrine, military intervention is but one of several means of producing the desired political effect, it is in such effectiveness that we must look for signs pointing to the possible launching of an attack.

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CSO: 3100/778

ELEMENTS OF DISUNITY AMONG PEOPLE EXAMINED

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Feb 81 pp 77-87

[Article by Ahmet Onuzi: "Problems of the Mass Organizations--For a Broader Concept of the Work to Strengthen Unity in the People"]

[Text] In the age-old war to defend freedom, culture and territorial entity our nation has given important examples of steadfastness, vitality and non-submission. This important moral strength which our people possess has been the object of great interest and study by foreign historians and chroniclers, many of whom, even though they have favored the interests of the great powers, have been forced to acknowledge that the successful tenacity of the Albanians has its roots in their bonds and unity. This bond and this unity, based on important fundamental interests, acquired new dimensions and expressed itself in a higher form during the Anti-Fascist National Liberation War, which was organized and directed by the Albanian Communist Party (today the Albanian Workers Party). Our united people, with the communists in the lead, fought not only for national liberation, but also for social liberation. At the present stage of the construction and defense of socialism, within the conditions of the harsh capitalist, bourgeois-revisionist blockade and encirclement, the unity in the heart of the people and the people around the party is acquiring new values.

Now the conviction has been fully created that this unity, produced and strengthened in the common struggle for the construction and defense of socialism and the fatherland, is one of the principal and most important sources of every success and victory which our nation has achieved under the leadership of the party. This unity in the heart of the people and the people around the party constitutes now, and for the future, the powerful moral and political force which is of vital and decisive importance for the incessant development of the revolution and our socialist construction.

As Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, "the [Democratic] Front organizations must never consider the political unity of the people as a problem that has been overcome and completed. The molding and strengthening of this unity is a continuous process linked to the correct solution of the social contradictions, especially to the contradictions in the hearts of the people, to the correct development of the class struggle against everyone and everything which is foreign and which prevents our victorious march forward" (Enver Hoxha, Reports and Speeches 1967-1968, p 182).

In order to better recognize the factors which are most influential in protecting and further strengthening the unity of the people at the present stage of socialist construction, and to set up the educational work with the masses on the basis of the characteristics and needs of this stage, recently the organizations of the Democratic Front at the grassroots, in the districts and at headquarters, organized a valuable study which opened to them a broad horizon of work concepts for the continuous strengthening of this unity.

The study "On the Social Psychology of the Unity of the People" was organized in all the districts. In each district work groups were set up, these groups were active and included: members of the Front organizations and forums and other mass organizations, workers from the apparatus of the party committees in the district, historians, teachers and others. Questionnaires, observations, meetings, consultations, debates and confrontations with different groups and different categories of people were organized; historical documents, reports and analyzes made by the heads of the Front organizations in the districts were studied. The problems and conclusions that emerged from the studies in the districts were opened to discussion at the meeting of the Front organizations in the villages, in city areas and precincts.

The study to recognize the influence of social psychology on the unity of the people was accompanied by broad and concrete propaganda activity so as to further strengthen this unity. The study helped to clarify the situation, to spread the positive experience of the work done so far, to uncover the deficiencies that exist and to define more effective work measures to make the unity of the people like steel. Based on material prepared in the districts, general conclusions emerged which were discussed by the leadership of the General Council of the Albanian Democratic Front. The leadership of the Democratic Front defined important directives for the work of the Front organizations in the future, for a broader understanding of the problem and to evaluate all the factors which influence the strengthening of the unity of the people in order to measure it and its strength against the capacity of fulfilling the important tasks laid down by the party for our people today.

This study, although containing some deficiencies, testifies, among other things, to the correct orientation of the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party because, "the mass organizations which are, every day, in contact with the broad working masses, in the city and the village, in order to put their work on a more scientific base, can and must undertake, with their own internal forces and with activists, additional studies in the political, ideological and sociological fields, and so on." (Enver Hoxha, "The Progress of the Country Is Inseparable From the Developments of Science and Technology," p 32).

Among the overall conclusions derived from this study of special value are those which, first of all, testify that socialist patriotism, this principal source of the unity of the people, is expressed, and must be expressed, always more and better in the work to fulfill the tasks, and in the socialist attitude toward work and common property; secondly, while protecting and further advancing the positive factors of strengthening the unity let us not forget, for a single moment, those negative factors and aspects inherited from the past which are preserved and expressed again and again in different forms and dimensions.

I

Because the study of the social psychology of the unity of the people was organized and based on a broad platform with current emphasis, it gave a clearer and deeper perception of the close ties that exist between this unity and the enactment of the party program for the construction and defense of socialism, and the reciprocal influence they exert on each other. Such a broad concept of the problem helps to make the objective of the educational work of the Front organizations the creation of deep and strong convictions in all the members of the organization so that their revolutionary socialist patriotism is expressed, and must be expressed even more, by achieving the daily tasks in the places where they work, produce, serve, learn and defend the fatherland.

A revolutionary socialist attitude towards work and duty has become a distinctive characteristic in us. Many daily facts, initiatives and powerful revolutionary activities testify to the socialist attitude which our people have toward shared work.

Let us consider the attitude and activity indicators of the workers in the village, where the role of the Front organizations is greater. We find the feeling of socialist patriotism in these workers expressed in greater activity and initiatives to increase the participation in shared work, to follow the example of those who show high productivity or who are active in clearing new lands and making new canals; to follow the example of those who assure the purity of drinking water, who put up telephone lines in the villages and connect the villages with hard surface roads, and so on. These attitudes and other revolutionary activities have resulted in further consolidating the cooperative system, in the uninterrupted increase of agricultural and livestock production, in the continued strengthening of common property, the love for the party and the people's government, faith in our own forces and in strengthening and further tempering the unity of the people.

Our working class and the other working masses have expressed socialist patriotism in different ways and forms. The patriotic revolutionary attitude of all the nation in the production front, is the one decisive factor which makes our economy more and more powerful, more and more steadfast, able to confront completely with its own forces the growing tasks that are being planned for the new 5-Year Plan, 1981-1985.

Nevertheless, we must accept that in the economic field there are instances of a narrow understanding of socialist patriotism, as well as a lack of agreement between words and actions. Everywhere, we come across instances where workers, in the villages or the city, who are ready to give their very life for the protection of the socialist fatherland, or to throw themselves into the flames to protect the endangered common property in times of misfortune, but in their daily life these same members of the Front manifest inclinations to take from society more than their share and to avoid the responsibility they have toward common work and property. It is precisely attitudes of this sort which testify to an incomplete and incorrect concept of patriotism, they testify to that artificial separation between "great" patriotism, which is expressed in unusual situations and the patriotism which must be expressed in daily work. We are speaking here, for example, of missing work without good reason, of non-fulfillment of norms, of the

inclination some have to avoid work in the agricultural front; to get away from unpleasant work and to rush in search of lighter work, of hesitations expressed by some young people in the city when they have to work in agriculture in construction and in the mines, even though it has been explained that these are among the most important fronts in the construction of socialism. These attitudes cannot help but have their own negative influence on work and on production in general. Some deficiencies, which are created in the production plan of some economic enterprises and agricultural cooperatives, have their source in the inadequate contributions made by certain people in the city and the villages to fulfill the defined objectives in the plans of the brigades, wards and sectors.

The study of the social psychology of the unity of the people made it clear that incorrect attitudes towards work and common property are not spontaneous. These attitudes are encouraged and fed by feelings of private ownership and narrow personal interests, by some old habits and traditions which are still preserved by certain families, especially in the villages, which separate members of the cooperatives for whole days from their work, by satisfaction with little, a feeling which is maintained by some workers and cadres, and by deficiencies in the organization of work and the administration of the common property. This creates a favorable terrain for the immature worker to become neglectful and wasteful at the expense of the socialist property and work, etc.

Naturally, all the levers of the party, and among them the Front organizations, contribute to educating the workers in a socialist attitude toward work and common property. Experience teaches us that wherever the basic party organizations and organs closely coordinate and direct the work of the mass organization, then a concrete field of work for this education can be found for the Front organization. In the villages, particularly, the Front Organizations can play a special role in educating those people who still continue in some way to consider common property as "state property," causing damage to it themselves or with their cattle, showing a certain level of indifference towards cooperative work and production. If, for example, in Jorgucat, Dervican and Lazarat, or some other village in Gjirokastr District, it should become the rule for men to work only 5 days a week, on the sixth day to occupy themselves with work in the cooperative garden, and if a good number of women will stay completely away from communal work, then the Front organizations on the basis of this fact, which has its roots, among other things, in the feeling of being content with the level of production and the standard of living already achieved, can and must formulate their duties. As large political organizations which unite in their midst all the masses of workers, the Front organizations, with massive educational and differentiated work, must mobilize all the cadres and activists in the village for the purpose of creating in every person the conviction that the feeling of contentment with the standard of living already achieved is harmful, because it puts a restraint on work and productivity, it aggravates the fulfillment of tasks always on the increase, it nurtures and revives indifference toward work and common property, it separates the worker in the cooperative from the high communist ideals and plunges him more and more into a petit-bourgeois world. It prevents him from thinking, working, living and struggling as a revolutionary in a way that is required by the circumstances of the socialist construction of the country.

The remnants of the feeling of private property which are still preserved by some people are contrary to the general interests, they weaken socialist patriotism even when they express the desire to expand private plots or to keep more cattle than the statute of the cooperative allows.

The struggle against these and other foreign expressions constitutes an important educational and organizational field where the Front organizations have their place and role. The herding of the cooperative cattle, for example, is an objective of economical, educational and political importance. If the member of a cooperative does not create a complete and steadfast conviction that a rise in the standard of living is achieved, first and foremost, by shared work on the common property, and that the cooperative yard is a temporary source for the purpose of fulfilling the cooperative family's needs, then this Front member may not have the correct attitude toward common work and common property. The focus of the revolutionary education of the Front organizations must be turned on those members of the cooperative who hesitate to sell their agricultural and livestock surplus, which has been derived from the cooperative yard, on state markets.

Life shows that some Front organizations remain aloof from these problems, because for many Front cadres and activists economic problems continue to be seen as matters which concern only state and economic organs. Thoughts and attitudes of this sort prove that it has still not been made clear to all that, as the Fifth Congress of the Albanian Democratic Front emphasized, the economy, which is the principal front of socialist construction is "the important anvil where the unity of the people is forged, where the high revolutionary qualities and virtues are formed and educated, where the will is tempered and courage strengthened, where the life, the soul and the minds of the people are beautified and enriched" (The Fifth Congress of the Albanian Democratic Front, p 15). Where there is a correct concept of these reciprocal dependencies and ties, the Front organizations and forums, at the grassroots and in the districts, find their own means of strengthening the economy.

The work experience of the best organizations shows that everywhere the possibilities exist to better organize and further deepen the political and educational work with people, so that everyone will understand and implement with patriotism and high feelings of responsibility the correct economic line of the party and the important Marxist-Leninist principle of relying on our own forces and thus be able to evaluate the situation correctly and think, work and live like revolutionaries and according to their standards.

The clarification of these important problems opens the way for a broad and differentiated work with those who avoid work or do not, in the course of their work, give the production and quality demanded. Our Front organizations with the experience they have gained and with the wide circle of skilled activists which they have available, can and must be of greater assistance in creating a healthy social opinion, where not only the person who misses work regularly will feel uneasy, but even the person who does not fulfill the norms; not only the person who hesitates to herd the cattle of the cooperative, but even the person who does not care about the damage created by this cattle, or about the abuse and misuse, no matter how unimportant, which occurs in the brigade or the cooperative where that person works.

The methods of work and the avenues that will influence the Front organizations. The solutions of these problems are many. The Fifth Congress of the Albanian People's Front defined concrete work objectives. The organization and development of a vigorous and diverse socialist emulation plan which must assure the complete participation of working people and the mobilization of everyone to realize and meet the duties, and to become familiar with and disseminate the example of the best workers, are two important areas of work for the Front organizations, which must be kept continuously at the center of their attention in order to strengthen the economy and to increase productivity.

II

Depending on the level of interest, general or local, the unity among our people has been sometimes broad and sometimes narrow. It has been broad, almost total, when there has been a question of protecting vital common interests, such as the defense of the fatherland, freedom, maternal soil, people's lives, honor and property, the protection from the plundering activities and aims of the invaders. There has also been important unity in the common struggle for economic, political and cultural progress, and so on. But there have also been narrow unions, based on interests of clan, blood, friendship, village and region and unions among people of the same religion. The character of these types of narrow unions has been sometimes positive and sometimes negative, but more often negative, to the point of violating the general union of the people when conditions have dictated it.

During the years of the National Liberation war and the period of socialist construction the foundations of the unity of our people expanded greatly, and the important general interests for whose protection we fought and are still fighting have continued to grow. Even the ideals for which we fought and are still fighting, are, during these years and at this period, much greater than they were. Therefore, the unity of the people has also gained much in content, dimension and depth and in mobilizing and executing force. Meanwhile, many negative factors of the narrow unions of the past have had a powerful blow, but some of them still preserve their dangerous power and raise their heads in different forms everytime the struggle against them is underestimated and weakened.

The study on the social psychology of the unity of the people showed that, even today, hostile internal and external forces are present and interested in harming and working to harm the unity of our people which was built, strengthened and molded on the basis of the great socialist interests and ideals. These forces try to keep alive in the workers and individual cadres foreign expressions, vestiges of old ideologies, old regulations and patriarchal concepts and practices, religious beliefs and backward customs, conservative and liberal attitudes, clan-like expressions and feelings, tribal influences and the spirit of chiefs, leaders and egoism, jealousy, blood revenge and intrigue, and sick pride and on this basis they strive to preserve, and even create, personal associations for the protection of narrow interests, which are contrary to the general interests and, which, in one way or another, damage the unity of the people and the unity of the people around the party. Therefore, our struggle against negative factors of this kind, which are encouraged by the class enemy, the remnants of foreign ideologies and the pressures of today's bourgeois-revisionist ideologies and propaganda must be continuous and efficient.

First of all, in the overall work which is necessary to prevent these negative factors, which hinder the strengthening of the unity of our people and harm it, special attention must be given to the fight against the remnants of a private ownership psychology, from its gradual removal to a condition of confronting every material remnant of relationships which feed it and keeps it alive.

It is known that in the past, when private ownership ruled, whether we were speaking of the village, the land, the hedge, the stream, the cattle trail, the pasture land or the woods, we spoke of defined different narrow interests which were the cause of quarrels, hate and conflicts, which often led to armed conflicts not only between families and clans, but even between villages. The collectivization of agriculture, the strengthening of the agricultural cooperatives, shared work and common ownership, and the fulfillment of needs, more and more, with the returns from this work, accompanied by frequent educational work from the party and its levers, are among the principal factors which have greatly weakened private ownership and the inclination toward it. It cannot be said that it does not exist anymore, regardless of the new ways in which it is expressed. For example, the tendency of some members of the cooperative to enlarge the cooperative yard beyond the norms permitted in the statute, to devote more care and labor to it than to the work of the cooperative, and even to the tendency to produce in the cooperative yard food for trade. Right now, within the conditions of collectivized agriculture, a new contradiction has emerged: the one between certain individuals who take over common property and production and the social group to whom that production and property belong.

These and other facts testify that it is a mistake to think that with the disappearance of private ownership its psychology and feeling have also disappeared. Naturally, administrative measures, and even penal prosecution, which are of educational value in themselves, are taken against anyone who appropriates common property, but, in order to uproot the psychology of private ownership, and every activity derived from it, it is necessary to have, before everything else, an overall, varied, educational and formative work on the part of the Front organizations. The people's council, the cooperative leadership and the people's court in the villages have their duties, however, greater work is required on the part of the Front organizations to make people more conscientious so that they will not take over common property and common sweat. Every lever of the party has its own area of activity to create in everyone the conviction that common property is the source of the well-being of that collective and of every one of its members, therefore, all must help to strengthen, enlarge and protect it.

Secondly, it is known that, in the past, all invaders and ruling exploiting classes considered the divisiveness of the people as one of the most effective paths to its domination. To this end, they used religion as a weapon. Religious separation, in some instances, as in Shkoder, went to the extent of having people of different faiths live in their separate city district, with their own distinctive clothing, separate schools and separate cemeteries.

The people's revolution dealt religious separation a powerful blow. The popular masses themselves, having become aware of the reactionary character of religion, initiated measures to destroy its material base and to relinquish its religious

customs and religious rites. Marriages between young people of different ex-religions which take place now testify to the important transformation that has taken place in overcoming religious separations. In Pukes District, for example, from 1978 to 1979 there have been 79 engagements between young men and women of different ex-religions.

There are other indications which prove that our people have become more and more aware of the reactionary character of religion. Nevertheless, in some areas and by some people, religious customs, standards and rites are still preserved and expressed in various forms. Let us return to the above mentioned fact of marriages between people of different ex-religions. Although, the couples being married now were born during the years of the people's government, and a good many of their parents were young people or adolescents the first few years after the liberation, we must accept the fact that religious concepts still wrench the feelings of some young people. There are whole regions and villages where this difficulty is not being overcome properly, and sometimes it destroys unity even within the family. The Front organizations, their cadres and activists who live among the people have the capabilities for persuading the parents not to impede young people from starting a new family. Indifference and the idea of some Front activists that family problems are "personal matters" are harmful. The Albanian family is a social cell whose unit influences the unity of all the nation. For the Front, bloc and village organizations a social problem is created when it becomes known that a family will not allow a young man or woman to marry a person who is of a different ex-religion. The Front activist must work quietly and patiently with the members of the family to convince them of their mistaken attitude, and must encourage and urge the young people to overcome this difficulty even if the marriage has to take place without the consent of the parents. The Front activist must cooperate with government and economic organs to assure these young people suitable living conditions.

Thirdly, in the past the ruling class as well as religion created hostilities between districts, clans and villages, "Tonks" and "Gega," between mountain people and plain dwellers, "honored" professions and "despised" professions. The unity of the people was specially harmed by the jealousy and hate between different clans and different bloods and between different villages and districts. This negative phenomenon in some districts, especially in the northern districts, had become dangerous in character, leading to the shedding of blood and thus creating a vendetta. The exploiting classes and religion, to stimulate fratricide, created and fed the opinion which honored, respected and praised the man who demanded blood in revenge, and scorned, insulted and mocked, on every occasion, the man who did not practice revenge. As a result of this attitude, before liberation, in Mat District there were around 1,000 feuds, involving about 10,000 people or 35 percent of the population of the district. Through the years 1939 to 1940, in District Tropoje alone, 94 people were killed in feuds.

Revenge, this ferocious custom inherited from the past, which aimed to intensify the hatred between individuals, families and clans, like many other customs, could not reconcile itself to the new socialist order. The party and its levers did important work to reconcile the feuding factions and to establish harmony and love between people. The collectivization of agriculture, shared work and common property became an important factor in bringing people together and engendering love and friendship among them.

The existence of hatreds, quarrels and conflicts, no matter how infrequent and unimportant, proves that something is still preserved from that division based on clan and blood relationships. The Democratic Front organizations in the districts of Mirdita and Gramsh, where until recently there were respectively 140 and 130 families living with each other, still has much work to do in order to establish complete unity of the people. Even when we do not see any families disputing and hating each other, certain expressions that raise their heads again and again testify that this phenomenon is just crouching because it has received a powerful blow; when the struggle against it does not continue and is postponed, it is re-activated in the form of slander, anonymous letters, gossip and intrigue; sometimes principled criticism during meetings or during the election to different forums of the member of the clan which is despised, and develops into open hate and dispute. Under these conditions the Front organizations, like the other levers of the party, have the duty to follow with vigilance the relationships between people, to deepen their knowledge of their attitudes and activities and every time they notice foreign postures, even when they are camouflaged, to stop and convince the guilty of the harm they are causing with these attitudes to the unity of the people.

In the area of work to establish and further strengthen the unity of the people, we notice that in some cases the Front organizations try to prevent the consequences of disputes and hatreds without going deeper into their causes. This is superficial and biased work. At present in the cities and the villages the Front organizations have a broad mass of able social activists, full of authority, capable of getting to the very root of the reason for the dispute and the hatred, and with profound, reasoned work, of convincing people of the uselessness and harm of disputes and hatred and of the absolute necessity for reconciliation. Here the question is not only about old hatreds and disagreements, but of those that may emerge in our time. We say this because the open meetings in the work collectives or districts for criticizing weaknesses or deficiencies at work, foreign expressions or unbecoming behavior, denouncements of crime, especially those that are accompanied by punishment of the guilty, become quite often the source of new hatreds and hostilities between immature individuals.

Regardless of whether it is an old hate or dispute or how harsh its manifestations, as long as we do not know the cause of it we cannot heal the wound, and it will remain the source of many other evils, sometimes expressed openly and sometimes hidden. The party has made it clear that clan feuds and concepts and sick family loyalties are always harmful. Clannishness and sick family loyalties feed the deficiencies and weaknesses of the liberal and opportunistic attitudes manifested by people of the clan; they encourage favoritism and partiality in solving the demands of the people, in services, in supply, in the rights to study and to have housing, in proposing councilors and judge's aides and in selecting and proposing work for cadres and so on. All such things, in different forms and levels, obstruct the successful progress of work and production, they create discontent and worry which affect the unity of the people.

Vigilance against these negative factors must always be on the alert. Knowledge of the new forms in which these negative phenomena are expressed helps the Front organizations to prepare educational, diversified, differentiated and convincing work, with defined objectives and according to the ideopolitical, educational and cultural level of the Front members. The success of this work depends, to a great

extent, on how much time is devoted to working with individuals, not only according to age groups and different class characteristics and different social categories, but also according to the specifics of the problems which worry different individuals and different groups of people.

Life itself teaches us that the field of activity for the Front organizations is much broader than some people believe.

The continuous strengthening of the unity of the people and of the people around the party remains the fundamental duty of the Front organizations, but the paths toward strengthening this unity are more numerous now and the masses of people interested in utilizing these paths are even broader. The Front organizations are realizing, step by step, the patriotic education of the workers in close association with revolutionary education. The fatherland is not considered now as just a plot of land representing a defined surface which people must love and defend. The party teaches us to love, to defend and glorify our socialist fatherland and to put everything in the balance toward achieving the great ideals of socialism and communism. Awakening and strengthening in people a pride in the victories already achieved and complete faith in the capability of building socialism with our own forces, within the condition of the harsh imperialist-revisionist encirclement, is an important area of work for the Front organizations, helped by the powerful influence of the continued strengthening of the unity of the people and the people around the party.

6/60

CSO: 2100/72

ORDINANCE REGULATING ADMISSION OF CADETS TO MILITARY ACADEMIES

Sotia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 13 May 81 pp 2, 3

[Ordinance No 400 Governing the Admission of Officer Candidates to Higher Military Schools and Holders of the Scholarships of the Ministry of Defense for the Academic Year of 1981-1982]

[Text] A. Full-Time Regular Instruction

1. Conditions and Documents for Application

1. Accepted as candidates for the higher military schools of the Bulgarian People's Army [BNA] are young men who meet the following conditions:

Have a correct political orientation;

Be a Bulgarian citizen;

Have a complete secondary education with exemplary conduct and a minimum number of 12.00 points formed from the overall success on the diploma and from the grades in subjects which are involved in the formation of the competitive number of points;

Is drawn to military service;

Is an active member of the Komsomol;

Is physically healthy;

Is not older than 23 and for flight candidates 21 (age is determined on 1 September, the start of the academic year);

Is not married;

Has not been condemned and is not involved in court proceedings and investigation;

Has been commended by the unit commander (for regular-term servicemen).

2. Each applicant is to submit through the chief of the military district (where he is registered) to the chief of the corresponding higher military school the following documents:

A request of the established form (the blanks for this form are to be found at the military district) to be admitted to the competitive exam;

A competitive card of the established form (found at the military district);

An autobiography (following the form which can be obtained from the military district);

A diploma for a complete secondary education or an official copy of it;

A birth certificate;

A certificate showing no criminal record;

A pedagogical recommendation from the secondary school;

A declaration that he will serve in the Bulgarian Armed Forces (the Bulgarian Civil Aviation, Maritime Transport or Ocean Fisheries) for at least 10 years;

A document showing right to preferential admission.

Applicants in regular first-term service are to submit the listed documents through the unit commander.

The documents of the first-term servicemen accepted as applicants for military schools, along with the health card, a copy of the military card for the given commendations and imposed penalties as well as an official recommendation, are forwarded by the commanders to the military districts from whence the young men have been sent into service.

Applications cannot be accepted without all the required documents which have been carefully and clearly filled out.

3. The dates for the submission of the applications to the military districts are:

Prior to 15 June for those who have completed their schooling prior to 1981 and for first-term servicemen;

Prior to 7 July for those graduating in 1981.

After these dates, new or additionally submitted documents are not to be accepted.

4. Each young man has the right to apply only to one higher military school for all the specialties ranked by preference.

11. Competitive Exams and Tests

1. The competitive exams, the tests of physical and psychophysiological qualities and medical examinations are conducted for the applicants in the corresponding higher or military schools.

2. All applicants are obliged to report to the higher military school where they are applying no later than 1400 hours on 10 August 1981 while the candidates for the specialty of "Flight Pilot" at the G. Benkovskiy VNVVU [Higher People's Air Force School] must report prior to 1400 hours on 29 July 1981.

3. The applicants for all higher military schools are to take two written exams: one on a special subject and a second on general culture and political training.

4. The special subjects for which competitive exams are to be taken are the following:

For the political specialization--Bulgarian history;

For the specialty "Chemical Troops"--chemistry;

For all other specialties--mathematics.

The competitive exams are held on materials studied in the secondary schools, according to the programs and questionnaires for competitive exams in the civilian institutions of higher learning. For the specialty "Chemical Troops" the exam is based on the questionnaire for chemistry for universities and the chemical engineering VUZ [institution of higher learning].

5. The time for the holding of the exams is:

For mathematics--on 11 August 1981,

For history--on 12 August 1981,

For general culture and political training--on 13 August 1981,

For chemistry--on 14 August 1981.

The exams only for the specialty "Flight Pilot" at the G. Benkovskiy VNVVU are:

For mathematics--on 30 July 1981,

For general culture and political training--on 1 August 1981.

The applicants for this specialty do not have the right to report for written competitive exams with candidates for the other specialties of the school. They can be ranked with the obtained number of points in the specialties given by them in their documents.

6. All applicants who have successfully passed the written exams are to undergo a test of physical and psychophysiological qualities and medical exams.

7. The physical qualities of the applicants are tested for the disciplines and standards given in the following table:

Disciplines	Grade	Pass	Fail
1. Chin-ups		At least 6	Under 6
2. Hundred-meter dash, standing start		Under 15.5 sec.	Over 15.5 sec.
3. 1,000-meter cross- country race		Under 4.10 min.	Over 4.10 min.
4. Swimming 100 meters only for N. Y. Vaptsarov VNVNU [Higher People's Naval School]		Under 3.00 min.	Over 3.00 min.

Sports clothing is required (provided by applicant).

The physical qualities of the applicants are graded as "fit" or "unfit." A grade of "unfit" is given to an applicant who has received a grade of "failed" for two or more of the tested disciplines.

8. The testing of the psychophysiological qualities of an applicant is carried out using special methods developed at the higher military schools. The psychophysiological qualities of the applicants are graded "fit" or "unfit."

9. The applicants who have received a grade of "unfit" in Points 7 and 8 do not participate in the ranking.

10. The medical examinations are conducted according to the requirements of the Schedule of Illnesses and Physical Handicaps. Applicants for the specialty "Flight Pilot" undergo a special air-medical examination.

11. The Organization of the Competitive Exams, the Reviewing and Grading of Written Work and the Setting of the Number of Competitive Points

1. The organizing and holding of the competitive exams are carried out at the higher military schools by commissions appointed by the chief of the school.

2. On the day of the examination the assigning of the candidates and the commissions to the halls is announced. The exams commence at 0800 hours. They last 4 hours.

3. The written competitive exams are anonymous.

The applicants who have reported after the announcing of the subject or who have not been present at one of the competitive exams (tests) or who have received a

grade of "poor" in a special subject or an evaluation of "unfit" in the testing of physical and psychophysiological qualities and medical exams lose the right to participate in the competition.

In copying or in preparing and attempting to copy, the written works are nullified by a statement from the chairman of the testing commission and the applicants are deprived of the right to further participation in the competition.

The results of the competitive exams are valid for participating in the competition only during the year in which they were taken.

4. Upon request the school issues certificates to the applicants to justify the use of leave by them for reporting for the competitive exam.

5. The written works on all special subjects are examined without fail in the rooms assigned for this purpose by two persons independently of each other. The works are graded with an accuracy of 0.25. For the grades of the written works the graders draw up individual statements which along with the written works are submitted to the chairman of the examination commission. The final grade of each candidate is determined on the basis of the two statements. If the difference in the grade of the two graders is 0.25, the end grade is rounded off in the candidate's favor, and when the difference is 0.50, the end grade is the arithmetical average between the two graders.

If the difference in the grade of one work is over 0.50, then this is given to review by an arbitrator whose grade is final. A third statement is drawn up for this purpose.

The reviews and grades are not made on the written works. These are drawn up and signed separately by the graders of the written works.

After the final drawing up of the statement on the results of the conducted exam, the reviews are put on the corresponding written works.

The written works from the exam on general culture and political training are graded by one instructor with a grade of "pass" or "fail." The candidates who have received a "fail" grade lose 0.50 from the grade in the basic subject.

On each written work on general culture and political training, the graders make a final grade with brief reasons for it and sign this.

A written work which has no mark is nullified.

The results of the competitive exams are announced before the following written exam. The announced grades are final and an additional review and regrading are not permitted.

6. The number of points for ranking are set from:

a) The doubled grade from the exam on the special subject;

- b) The general grade from the diploma for the completed secondary education;
- c) The grades in two subjects from the diploma for a completed secondary education which are basic ones for the specialty.

The diploma subjects the grades of which are included in the number of points are the following:

For the political specialty--Bulgarian history, Bulgarian language and literature;

For the specialty "Chemical Troops"--chemistry and mathematics (only at the V. Levski VNVU [Higher People's Military School]);

For all remaining specialties--mathematics and physics.

7. Young persons who apply simultaneously to a civilian institution of higher learning and to a military school are required to take the competitive exam in the military school.

IV. The Ranking and Admitting of Applicants

1. In the ranking of applicants, the admission commission proceeds from the following:

The received number of points for the ranking,

Their political and professional qualities,

The result of the testing of physical and psychophysiological qualities,

State of health,

The right for preferential admission.

2. For admission to the higher military schools, preference is given to the following:

a. The sons of the active fighters against fascism and capitalism. Ten percent of the places are reserved for them.

b. The sons of BNA servicemen, of deceased servicemen who died during or because of the carrying out of their service duty as well as those servicemen from the reserves who have served at least 15 years of regular service in the BNA. These candidates compete for 15 percent of the places.

c. The sons of employees from the Balkan BGA [Bulgarian Civil Aviation], the Water Transport Trust and the Central Administration of the Ministry of Transport who have at least 10 years of regular paid (flight) and operating service in these departments compete for 10 percent of the places in the corresponding specialties of the G. Benkovski VNVU and the N. Y. Vaptsarov VNVU.

Applicants who are given preference under Points "b" and "c" are ranked first in the general ranking with the remaining candidates. The unranked compete amongst themselves in terms of the number of points for the places assigned to them.

d. The written competitive examination for the special subject and for general culture and political training do not need to be taken by applicants who are students in the last grade (year) and who hold firsts in the republic and international Olympics for mathematics (those ranked from 1st to 13th place), chemistry (those ranked from 1st to 8th place) and the national political competition (those ranked from 1st to 5th place) (and only in the specialties for which the appropriate test is required) under the condition that they have an overall grade level on their diploma for a complete secondary education of at least very good (5.00) and a grade in the diploma subjects which are involved in setting the number of points of at least excellent (5.50).

e. Applicants who have completed courses at the OVTPN [Organization for Military-Technical Training of the Population] for powered flight.

With other conditions being equal, preference is given to young persons who have completed the NShZO [National Reserve Officers School], who have done their military service and completed courses in military-technical training at the OVTPN.

The places assigned to applicants with priority and are not occupied by them because of a lack of the minimum number of points in the course of the ranking are filled according to the number of points by candidates who do not have priority.

3. The ranking is carried out in descending order of points and by the order of the specialties designated by the applicants.

Young men in the specialty "Flight Pilot" at the G. Benkovskiy VNVVU who are ranked but are not admitted, if they so desire, can be admitted as students in the third year for agricultural aviation.

The results of the ranking are announced before the admission commission begins to work.

The sessions of the admission commissions are held up to 21 August 1981.

4. Eliminated from the ranking are applicants who have received lower than 20.00 points with the exception of those having preference under Point "a."

After the reviews, the tests and the final study of the applicants, the admission commission conducts a personal talk with each candidate, takes its decision and informs the applicant of it. The decision of an admission commission written up as a statement is final and is not submitted for approval.

The candidates who have been ranked but have not reported to the admission commission are considered to be rejected.

5. The higher military schools notify the accepted candidates in writing, in indicating the specialty for which they have been admitted.

6. If the ranked applicants do not report at a definite date to the appropriate military school, their places are filled by applicants from the reserves in order of their ranking.

8. Correspondence Instruction

1. Officers and sergeants from the BNA, employees (male) in the system of the MNO [Ministry of Defense] (only for engineering specialties) and employees (male) from air (water) transport can apply for correspondence studies in the higher military schools.

2. The conditions and procedure for the application of officers and sergeants from the BNA for correspondence instruction are given in the Regulation governing higher military schools in the BNA, Section VII "Correspondence Instruction."

3. It is permitted to apply for correspondence instruction to only one higher military school in the specialties which correspond to the nature of the work (service) performed by the applicant.

4. Accepted for correspondence instruction are applicants who meet the following conditions:

Have a complete secondary education;

Are not over the age of 40 as of 1 September 1981;

Have at least 1 year's labor experience by 1 June 1981 corresponding to the specialty for which they are applying;

Have done their regular military service;

Have received permission from Section 24080 of the MNA;

Have been approved by the appropriate ministries;

Meet the requirements of reserve officers of the BNA.

In addition, there are the following requirements:

For officers

To be recommended by their immediate superiors;

Who have completed a secondary aviation school (for correspondence pilots).

For reinstated sergeants:

To be recommended by the commanders of the units;

Who have completed the first course of a SSVU [complete secondary school] with a diploma grade of at least "very good" (5.00);

Not to be older than 23 by 1 September of the year of application;

To have at least 2 years' in the specialty.

5. The applicants for correspondence instruction who meet the requirements prior to 30 April 1981 are to submit a report of the line of command to Section 24080 of the MNO for receiving permission for correspondence instruction.

To the report the applicants for correspondence instruction (not counting the officers and sergeants) are to append:

A certificate from the corresponding ministry which states that it recommends the applicant for correspondence instruction in the corresponding specialty;

An excerpt copy of the labor booklet signed by the enterprise leader.

6. Officers and sergeants applying for correspondence instruction are to submit the following documents:

A request to the chief of the higher military school to be permitted to take the competitive exam, in indicating the specialty for which they are applying;

A diploma for the completed secondary education or officially notarized copy of it;

Permission for correspondence studies from Section 24080;

A medical certificate;

An autobiography.

7. An applicant for correspondence instruction (not including the officers and sergeants) submit through the chiefs of the military districts to the chief of the military school the following documents:

A request for admission to the competitive exam giving the specialty desired by him;

An autobiography;

Permission for correspondence studies from Section 24080;

A diploma for a complete secondary education or a notarized copy of it;

A medical certificate;

A certificate from the appropriate ministry which explicitly states the specialty for which he is permitted to apply;

An excerpt copy of the labor booklet signed by the leader of the enterprise or institution for verification of length of employment;

Recommendation for the applicant from the enterprise or institution where he is employed;

Military registration card;

Certificate of no criminal record;

Birth certificate;

A document giving preferential status (if such exists).

8. The date for submitting the documents is 15 June 1981.

9. The reporting for the written competitive tests, the grading of written work, the calculating of the number of points for correspondence instruction and the ranking of the applicants are carried out according to the procedure set for regular instruction.

10. The applicants for correspondence instruction have the same priorities as applicants for regular instruction.

11. The decision to admit the candidates for correspondence instruction is taken by the admission commission after a personal talk with the applicants.

C. Admission of Applicants to the Georgi Dimitrov VIF

1. Young men applying as students at the G. Dimitrov VIF [Higher Physical Culture Institute] in the specialty of "Physical Training in the BNA," are admitted for the needs of the OVTPN and must meet the requirements for applicants in the higher military schools. They submit documents to the G. Dimitrov VIF at the dates according to the requirements of the Handbook for Student Applicants in 1981-1982. Through the military district (in which they are registered), the applicants submit to the chief of the Chavdar ASHVM [expansion unknown] in Sofia, the following documents:

An application, an autobiography, a birth certificate, a certificate showing no criminal record, a document affirming the right to preference, a copy of the diploma for a complete education and a declaration that they will serve in the OVTPN for at least 10 years after completing the institute. The documents are to be submitted to the military district prior to 7 July 1981.

The conditions and procedure for holding the competitive exams and for preferential admission are given in the Directive of the Ministry of Public Education for the Admission of Students to the G. Dimitrov VIF for the 1981-1982 Academic Year. Servicemen in regular service who are not to be discharged during the year do not have the right to apply.

2. The young men accepted for the specialty "Physical Training in the BNA" have the rights and duties of officer candidates in the higher military schools.

B. MNO Scholarship Holders

1. Young men are accepted as MNO scholarship holders in the following specialities:

Medicine--on the medical faculties in the cities of Sofia, Plovdiv, Varna and Pleven;

Stomatology--on the stomatological faculties in the cities of Sofia and Plovdiv;

Pharmacy--at the pharmaceutical faculty in Sofia;

Physique--at the Sofia Kl. Ohridski University for meteorologists in the BNA.

2. Young persons who desire to apply for the above specialties must meet the conditions for applicants at the higher military schools.

3. The applicants for the MNO scholarships submit their documents on their general background to the appropriate higher institutions of learning according to the procedure established for student applicants. Those who have been successfully ranked in the corresponding civilian institutions of learning (with a number of points above the established minimum for the given institution of higher learning) within 10 days after the announcement of the results of the competitive exams are to submit the following documents to the military district: An application, an autobiography, a medical certificate from a military hospital (for those who have done their regular military service), a medical induction sheet (for draftees), a health card (for servicemen), a certificate of no criminal record, a certificate showing the number of points from the corresponding institution of higher learning where they have applied, and a declaration that they will serve in the BNA for at least 10 years after completing their education.

4. Persons accepted as MNO scholarship holders who have not done their regular military service begin their education after completing this service.

5. The MNO scholarship holders after completing their higher education are accepted for active military service and are assigned to the BNA units.

Final Provisions

1. For a lack of conscientiousness shown, for the failure to observe the established procedure in grading the written works, in checking the physical and psychophysiological qualities and medical examinations, in processing the data of the documents and in ranking the applicants, the members of the commissions are to be punished. Servicemen will be punished according to the Disciplinary Regulations and volunteers by dismissal, according to Article 18, Letter "d" of the Law Governing Higher Education. In these instances the guilty parties will not receive their remuneration for the grading of written works.

2. Applicants who submit documents with incorrect information, who attempt to provide incorrect information in filling out their applicant documents or who try to mislead the admission commissions are eliminated from the competition.

1. The heads of the higher military schools have the final say on all applicant questions in accord with the Directive Governing the Admission of Officer Candidates in the 1981-1982 Academic Year.

4. Section 24080 exercises overall leadership and control over the application of this ordinance.

All questions relating to the admission of applicants which are not found in the current ordinance are to be referred to Section 24080.

5. This ordinance is promulgated on the basis of Point 52 of the Regulation Governing Higher Military Schools in the BNA.

Minister of National Defense, Arm Gen Dzharov

27 February 1981

General Information Governing the Higher Military Schools

The V. Levski Higher People's Military School

Bearer of the Order of Bulgaria, First Degree, V. Turnovo, tel. 26-61

The school has command and political specialties with a period of instruction of 4 years.

Command Specialty

The command specialty has the following specializations:

a) Motorized rifle troops, b) border troops, c) tank troops, d) signal troops, e) chemical troops, f) motor vehicle troops, g) engineer troops, h) rear troops.

a. The specialties "Motorized Rifle" and "Border Troops" train combined-arms officers.

Those who complete the course of instruction receive an officer rank of engineer-lieutenant and a higher education with a military qualification of officer of the motorized rifle troops and military engineer for the operation and repair of ATT [motor vehicle and tractor transport], and a civil qualification of junior engineer with a specialty of internal combustion engines.

b. The specialty "Tank Troops" has two areas of specialization:

--line tank troops,

--technical tank troops.

Those who have completed the course of instruction receive the officer rank of engineer-lieutenant and a higher education with a military qualification of officer of the tank troops and military engineer in the operation and repair of BT [armored

transport) and a civilian qualification of junior engineer with a specialty for internal combustion engines.

c. The specialty "Signal Troops" trains military engineers and commanders of signal subunits.

Those who complete the course of instruction receive an officer rank of engineer-lieutenant and a higher education with a military qualification of military engineer for communications equipment and a civilian qualification of radio technical engineer (communications technician) with a specialty in radio and television equipment (multichannel and switching systems).

d. The specialty "Chemical Troops" trains officers for the chemical warfare subunits.

Those who complete the course of instruction receive the officer rank of engineer-lieutenant and a higher education with the military qualification of officer of the chemical troops and military chemical engineer (dosimetrist) and a civil qualification of engineer with a specialty of engineering physics (rubber and plastics technology).

e. The specialty "Motor Vehicle Troops" trains military engineers and commanders of motor vehicle subunits.

Those who complete the course of instruction receive an officer rank of engineer-lieutenant and a higher education with the military qualification of officer of the motor vehicle troops and military engineer in the operation and repair of AIT and a civil qualification of junior engineer with a specialty in internal combustion engines.

f. The specialty "Engineer Troops" train officers for the engineer troops.

Those who complete the course of instruction are given an officer rank of engineer-lieutenant and a higher education with military and civil qualifications. The specialty has two specializations:

Road construction.

Construction and road machinery.

Those who complete the specialization of road construction receive a military qualification of military engineer in road construction and a civil qualification of engineer for transport or road construction.

Those who complete the specialization of construction and road machinery receive the military qualification of military engineer for construction and road machinery and a civil qualification of engineer for materials handling and construction machines.

g. The specialty "Rear Troops" trains officers for food and material supply.

Those who complete the course of instruction receive the officer rank of lieutenant and a higher education with a military qualification of rear officer and a civil qualification in economics and the organization of material and technical supply.

Political Specialization

Those who complete the course of instruction receive an officer rank of lieutenant, a military qualification of party-political worker in the Armed Forces of Bulgaria and a civil specialty of pedagogue.

Georgi Dimitrov Higher People's Military Artillery School

Bearer of the Order of G. Dimitrov and 9 September 1944, First Degree. Shumen, tel. 9-75-51

The school has command, engineer and political specializations.

Command Specialization

The command specialization has a 4-year period of instruction with three specialties:

a) Ground artillery, b) antiaircraft artillery, c) artillery reconnaissance and observation and cartography.

a. The specialty "Ground Artillery" trains officers for the ground artillery. Those completing this specialty receive an officer rank of engineer-lieutenant and a higher education with a qualification of computer engineer for the use and maintenance of electronic computers.

b. The specialty "Antiaircraft Artillery" trains commanders for air defense. Those completing this specialty receive an officer rank of engineer-lieutenant and a higher education with the qualification of radio technical engineer for radar and radio navigation systems.

c. Those completing the specialty "Artillery Reconnaissance and Observation and Cartography" receive an officer rank of engineer-lieutenant and a higher education with a qualification of engineer in geodesy, photogrammetry and cartography.

Engineer Specialization

The engineer specialization has a 5-year period of instruction and five specialties:

a) gun armament, b) radio electronic troops--radars, c) radio electronic troops--automatic control systems, d) antiaircraft troops, e) military cybernetics.

a. The specialty "Gun Armament" trains officers in the operation and repair of all types of artillery and radar equipment. Those completing the course of instruction receive an officer rank of engineer-lieutenant and a higher education with the qualification of machine building and metalworking engineer.

b. The specialty "Radio Electronic Troops--Radars" trains officers for the needs of the radio electronic troops. Those completing the course receive an officer rank of engineer-lieutenant and a higher education with the qualification of radio electronics engineer for radar and radio navigations systems.

c. The specialty "Radio Electronic Troops--Automated Control Systems" trains officers for the needs of the radio electronics troops. Those completing the course of instruction receive the officer rank of engineer-lieutenant and a higher education with the qualification of radio electronics engineer for radar systems.

d. The specialty "Antiaircraft Troops" trains officers for the needs of air defense. Those completing the course of instruction receive an officer rank of engineer-lieutenant and a higher education with the military qualification of officer of the antiaircraft technical troops and a civil qualification of radio electronics engineer for radar and radio navigation systems.

e. Those who complete the specialty of "Military Cybernetics" receive the rank of engineer-lieutenant and a higher education with the qualification of computer engineer for computer systems and devices.

Political Specialization

Period of instruction is 4 years.

Those completing the course of instruction receive the officer rank of lieutenant with a military qualification of party political worker in the Bulgarian Armed Forces and a civil specialty of pedagogue.

G. Benkovskiy Higher People's Air Force School

Bearer of the Order 9 September 1944, First Degree and Order of Bulgaria, First Degree. Dolna Mitropoliya, Pleven Okrug. tel. 2-20-79

The G. Benkovskiy Higher People's Air Force School has three specializations: command-engineer, engineer and political.

Command-Engineer Specialization

The command-engineer specialization has three specialties: a) flight pilot, b) navigator, c) air force staff. The period of instruction is 5 years (4.5 years for a flight pilot).

a) The specialty "Flight Pilot" trains pilots for the BNA and for the Bulgarian Civil Aviation (BCA).

Those who complete the course of instruction receive an officer rank of engineer-lieutenant and a higher education with the qualification of flight engineer.

b) The specialty "Navigator" trains navigators for air traffic control. Those completing the course of instruction receive the officer rank of engineer-lieutenant and a higher education with the qualification of traffic control engineer.

c) The specialty "Air Force Staff" trains staff officers for aviation. Those completing the course of instruction receive the officer rank of engineer-lieutenant and a higher education with the qualification of engineer-economist.

Engineer Specialization

The engineer specialization has a 5-year period of instruction with the following specialties: a) operation and repair of aircraft, b) operation and repair of aircraft electrical equipment and automatic equipment, c) operation and repair of aircraft radio equipment, d) communications and RSTO [radar and communications technical support], and e) aviation weaponry.

a. The specialty "Operation and Repair of Aircraft" trains engineers in the operation and repair of aircraft and engines. The specialty trains engineers for the needs also of the BGA.

Those completing this specialty receive the officer rank of engineer-lieutenant and a higher education with the qualification of mechanical engineer.

b. The specialty "Operation and Repair of Aircraft Electrical and Automatic Equipment" trains engineers in operation and repair. Those completing the course of instruction receive the officer rank of engineer-lieutenant and a higher education with the qualification of electrical engineer.

c. The specialty "Operation and Repair of Aircraft Radio Equipment" trains engineers for operation and repair. Those completing the course of instruction receive the officer rank of engineer-lieutenant and a higher education with the qualification of radio engineer.

d. The specialty "Communications and RSTO" trains engineers for the communications and radio electronic equipment in aviation. Those completing this specialty receive the officer rank of engineer-lieutenant and a higher education with the qualification of radio electronics engineer.

e. The specialty "Aviation Weapons" trains officers for the operation and repair of aviation weapons. Those completing this specialty receive the officer rank of engineer-lieutenant and a higher education with the military qualification of air force officer and military engineer for aviation equipment and a civil qualification of automation engineer with a specialty in automation and telemechanics.

Light Pilot for Agricultural Aviation

Period of instruction--3 years.

Pilots for agricultural aviation are admitted from the applicants of the cadet pilots who have passed the competition and the aviation medical examination. Military service is considered completed for those finishing this course.

Political Specialization

Period of instruction--4 years.

Those completing the course of instruction receive the officer rank of lieutenant with a military qualification of party-political worker in the Bulgarian Armed Forces and a civil specialty of pedagogue.

N. Y. Vaptsarov Higher People's Naval School

Bearer of the Order of Bulgaria, First Degree. Varna. tel. 2-80-28

The Higher People's Naval School has two specializations: command-engineer and engineer. The period of instruction for the command-engineer and engineer specializations is 5 years.

Command-Engineer Specialization

The command-engineer specialization has two specialties: a) navigator for the navy, b) navigator for the civil fleet.

a. The specialty "Navigator for the Navy" trains navigators for the navy. Those completing the course of instruction receive the officer rank of engineer-lieutenant and a higher education with the qualification of navigator-engineer.

b. The specialty "Navigator for the Civil Fleet" trains engineer-navigators for water transport and ocean fishing. Those completing this specialty receive a higher education with the qualification of engineer-navigator.

Engineer Specialization

The engineer specialization has three specialties: a) ship power machinery and equipment for the navy, b) ship power machinery and equipment for the civil fleet, c) maritime communications.

a. The specialty "Ship Power Machinery and Equipment for the Navy" trains ship mechanical engineers.

b. The specialty "Ship Power Machinery and Equipment for the Civil Fleet" trains ship mechanical engineers for water transport and ocean fishing.

Those completing the course of instruction for the navy receive the rank of engineer-lieutenant and a higher education with the qualification of engineer for ship power machinery and equipment and the operation and repair of ship power machinery, equipment and systems.

Those completing the course of instruction for the needs of maritime transport and ocean fishing receive a higher education with the qualification of engineer for ship power machinery and equipment and the operation and repair of ship power machinery, equipment and systems.

c. The specialty "Maritime Communications" trains engineers for naval communications equipment. Those completing the course of instruction receive the officer rank of engineer-lieutenant and a higher education with the qualification of engineer for radio and television equipment.

CHURCH ACTIVITY UNDER RENEWED STATE PRESSURE REPORTED

Aid to Polish People

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 28 Apr 81 p 2

[Report by Karl-Heinz Baum, correspondent, FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, datelined Berlin, 27 April: "GDR Church Aids Poland: Synod Views Its Action as in Consonance With the Government's Measures"]

[Text] During the discussion of the Church Administration's report at the synod of the Berlin-Brandenburg Protestant Church, the head of the GDR Church Federation's secretariat, Manfred Stolpe, informed the participants that at the end of last week the Protestant Church of the GDR had presented Warsaw with "a large aid shipment" which would solve "for the next 2 months" the meat and salad oil supply problems of Protestant old-age homes.

Stolpe stated that it was important now to maintain the organic ties with the Polish friends and to help these friends so as to enable them to help themselves. He pointed out that the GDR Government took a similar view of Poland and that he considered the emergency Western-currency loan of M 0.5 billion and the reserved comments in the SED Central Committee report to be a confirmation of this attitude.

Stolpe urged the participants not to "let pass any careless talk" and he reported that people in Poland were making disparaging remarks about the GDR Germans, labeling them "organization fanatics," "work fetishists" and "inveterate know-alls."

Other speakers at the synod stated it was necessary--even under the new circumstances--"to take advantage of all existing contacts and to establish new ones." They called to mind that "at the request of the GDR" trips to and from Poland had since last fall been possible only upon presentation of invitations confirmed by the People's Police and that several church members had not been allowed to travel to Poland.

One of the speakers stated that the Germans' admonition to the Polish neighbors to work more--an admonition heard frequently in the GDR--was an ominous reminder of the inscription "Work Liberates" in the Auschwitz concentration camp. He pointed out that Germans must never again expose themselves to the charge of arrogance vis-a-vis other nations.

In the discussion concerning the raising of the minimum exchange rate for travelers to the GDR, one of the speakers suggested to make a distinction between tourists and private guests. He stated that his relationship to his government was negatively affected by his private guests being subject to the minimum exchange rate.

In the discussion concerning integration of the GDR's three church federations in a unified Protestant Church, Bishop Albrecht Schoenherr, who is soon to retire, and his successor designate, Gottfried Forck, championed the new form of organization. Schoenherr stated that no foreigner would ever understand a system providing for three different parent organizations for eight state churches; to understand this, one had to be a German. He pointed out that for the leading church representatives the work load in the three organizations was "practically intolerable." Schoenherr said that if one wanted to wait until theologically everything had become crystal-clear--a demand voiced by several speakers--one would be close to the Last Judgment; if in 1981 the decisive breakthrough did not come about, one should drop the project and leave the unification to subsequent generations.

Election of Schoenherr's Successor

Donn **MEINISCHER MERKUR** in German Vol 36, No 18, 1 May 81 p 19

[Report by Wolf-Dieter Zimmermann: "An Innovator He Is Not: Gottfried Forck Becomes Bishop of Berlin-Brandenburg--Only Two Candidates Available for Election--East Berlin Synod Decided on Pastor of Church"]

[Text] The East Berlin Synod played it safe. On 25 April, it elected the Cottbus general superintendent, Gottfried Forck, successor to Bishop Albrecht Schoenherr. For a good 8 years, Forck has been a member of the Berlin-Brandenburg church leadership; consequently, he is well versed with the problems of this church. He is considered to be an experienced pastor deeply concerned with promoting parish life.

Forck has long been laboring under a special burden: He has always been the "successor," taking the place of prominent theologians. He succeeded Albrecht Schoenherr as director of the Brandenburg Preacher Seminar and Guenter Jacob as general superintendent of Niederlausitz. Now he must again take the place of Schoenherr and thus also take over Schoenherr's conception concerning church policy. Even though Forck will not be given the chairmanship of the Church Federation (according to the most recent information, Bishop Krusche (Magdeburg) is slated for this office), the Berlin Episcopate will always carry special weight, if only because of its proximity to the authorities and to the Church Federation's secretariat.

As a successor, a man such as Forck has always had to follow a difficult course. If he wants to maintain continuity, i.e. continue the policy formulated by his successful predecessor, he must move cautiously; he can only maintain and further develop old concepts; he can hardly begin anything new. On account of this commitment to an established course, Forck has produced in some observers the impression that he is apt to sidestep decisions and to make tactical moves. Some people feel that he lacks a clearly defined position. However, it is arguable that all these judgments are mistaken. The time of ecclesiastical lone wolves is past. Forck knows full well that at this time it is above all the parishes' stability and activity that are of crucial importance; for the church leadership is of significance only as long as

it can represent vigorous parishes.

An episcopal election is always a complex procedure. The episcopal election committee, which is made up of 30 members, draws up a list of candidates. Apparently, this committee received negative replies as well, for originally the list had been expected to comprise more than two candidates. Now the only competitor nominated was Christoph Demke (45), departmental chief and deputy director of the Church Federation's secretariat. His boss--the director of the secretariat, Manfred Stolpe (a jurist, 44 years old)--will on 1 January 1982 assume his duties as president of the Berlin-Brandenburg consistory. From the outset, it was rather unlikely that his former deputy would now become his bishop. Nevertheless, the outcome of the vote--83 : 35 in favor of Forck, with 6 abstentions--suggests a certain uneasiness on the part of some synod members. But the synod is not allowed to discuss the proposals; nor can it submit new proposals. It can only consent or decline. In comparison with other episcopal elections, the fact that Forck obtained the necessary two-thirds majority already in the second ballot denotes a decidedly quick decision.

What with his age of 57, Forck is relatively old. He was born in Ilmenau, Thuringia and was taken prisoner of war by the American army; he received part of his academic training in the West and he participated in church activities at a time when the Berlin-Brandenburg Church was still undivided. He has gained experience in many fields of ecclesiastical work--training, administration, ecclesiastical guidance. By nature, he is not an innovator and that is all to the good in view of the fact that the life of the church--so far largely determined by solitary individuals--must quickly attain a stability of its own. Forck appears to be well qualified for this task.

It is doubtful whether the state is totally pleased with this decision. On Saturday, at 7:52 p.m., "Aktuelle Kamera" [Topical Camera] of the East Berlin television network merely made a 20-second announcement, without any pictures--a minimal reaction. By contrast, the Western news broadcasts immediately presented extensive picture reports.

Forck will be the bishop of a divided, but quite independent church. According to church regulations, he is obligated "to maintain fraternal contact with the bishop of the other region (i.e. West Berlin)." For Forck, this is certainly easier than for a representative of the following generation, which hardly has any memories of the church before the erection of the wall. Moreover, unlike his predecessor, he will not immediately be required to make a contribution on all national and international levels. He will be able fully to devote himself to his own ecclesiastical realm. In the present situation, this is certainly a great advantage. On 1 October, he will assume his duties.

Seeking Modus Vivendi

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 14 No 4, Apr 81 signed to press 20 Mar 81 pp 345-347

['Commentaries and Current Discussions' feature article by Dr Gisela Helwig, editor, DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV: "We Must and Will Show Our Colors": On the Current Situation of the Protestant Churches in the GDR." A translation of Hans-Juergen Roeder's

article cited in footnote 1 is published under the heading "West German Commentary on GDR Concessions to Protestant Church" in JPRS 71228, 6 Feb 78, No 1542 of this series, pp 46-49. A synopsis in English of the FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE article cited in footnote 7 is published under the heading "FRG Paper Reports Criticism Voiced at Church Synods" in FBIS Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT, Vol II, No 230, 26 November 1980, pp E2-E3]

[Text] Three years have passed, since SED General Secretary Erich Honecker and Bishop Albrecht Schoenherr, chairman of the GDR Church Federation, met--on 6 March 1978--for their sensational talks on fundamental issues.¹ Both sides have repeatedly reaffirmed the content and the objectives of the agreements and declarations of intent negotiated at that time, and for some time it seemed as though there really had taken place an irreversible change in the relationship between the state and the church. However, in the second half of last year, the party and state leadership again showed that it was going to continue to conduct the dialog with the Christians in an opportunistic fashion. When church representatives--prompted by the gloomy international situation, the events in Poland and the deterioration of inner-German relations resulting from the drastic increase in the minimum conversion rate--voiced unwelcome criticism, the state employed a whole arsenal of restrictive measures to contain it.

State Interference With the Church Press

As recently as last May, Klaus Gysi, state secretary for church affairs, emphasized in an interview with ARD [Working Group of FRG Broadcasting Institutes] correspondent Lutz Lehmann that in the last few years the relationship between the state and the church in the GDR had been developing in an increasingly constructive fashion² and that there was no reason to assume that this situation would change: "The official church policy of our republic is a long-term, fundamental policy--i.e. a policy based on principle--which is totally integrated in the overall policy of our republic and thus is long-winded, as it were." In reply to the question why differences of opinion between state and church had not been reported by the GDR media, Gysi stated: "In all disputes, we emphasize the common interests rather than the divisive elements." But he pointed out that this applied only to the party organs and that the church had its own, independent papers which could print "anything."

Just 4 months later, however, this statement no longer held true. In September 1980, when the Conference of Protestant Church Administrations presented to the Federal Synod its view of the present international situation, the SED did not even allow church publications to publish the reference to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.³ The passages on the peace service in the church administration report and supplementary comments by synod members on the same subject were likewise suppressed by the state censor:

"Establishment and maintenance of peace is not only an international problem and task; it is a vital process which is concerned in equal measure with the global level, with the respective social level and with the interpersonal level--the close personal and interpersonal relations. To further this process, one must ensure further development of the possibilities of contact between the people in the two German states. Peace among the states and peace within a society are interrelated. The ability to settle conflicts in our everyday life and in society contributes to

the development of peaceful relations among the states, whereas suppression of conflicts accumulates aggressive emotions and induces people to deflect these emotions to an 'enemy.'"⁴

"The Synod asks the Conference of Church Administrations to do its utmost in the talks with representatives of state organs to ensure further development of the possibilities of such contacts between the people of the two German states. Even though the Synod gratefully welcomes the smallest step toward promoting trust, it views with great concern any event that could jeopardize hard-won matter-of-factness and rapprochement. The Synod takes seriously the GDR Government's efforts toward disarmament and military detente and it wants to support these efforts as best it can. But it wonders whether declared peaceful intentions may possibly become obscured, if anxiety is generated by the special way of reporting on maneuvers. Addressing itself to those bearing political responsibility, the Synod reiterates the urgent request voiced by the Dessau Synodal Conference of 1979 to refrain from doing anything that could induce the other side to expand its armaments."⁵

Distribution of the "Protestant News Service in the GDR" (ena) was stopped by order of the authorities on account of its having used verbatim quotes in presenting the aforementioned arguments.

Two weeks later, the state again interfered with the church press--this time in connection with the "Peace Decade" staged by Protestant youth groups. The papers affected were the MECKLENBURGISCHE KIRCHENZEITUNG, SONNTAG, a paper published in the administrative church region of Saxony, and FRIEDENSLOCKE, a publication of the Protestant-Methodist Church. The papers were prohibited from announcing a "peace minute" to be observed on 19 November. In part, the publications had to be reprinted and distribution was delayed accordingly.

Increase in the Minimum Exchange Rate and the Inner-German Ties of the Protestant Churches

The increase of the minimum exchange rate to DM 25 per day, which came into effect on 13 October 1980, has given rise to concern in the churches of the two German states. The organizational separation of 1969 notwithstanding, the EKD [Protestant Church of Germany] and the GDR Church Federation continue to feel committed to a "distinctive spiritual community"; moreover, they advocate lively tourist traffic. The GDR's party and state leadership has always been distrustful of this all-German commitment and reportedly accusations to this effect were leveled against Bishop Schoenherr on account of his criticism of the increase in the minimum exchange rate.⁶ The fact that at the beginning of November GDR church representatives were refused the travel permits requisite for their participation in the Osnabrueck EKD Synod probably is likewise related to this distrust. The state leadership also subjected to restrictions the Western correspondents accredited in the GDR. Contrary to a practice of long standing, they were for the first time prohibited--likewise in November--from direct reporting about the synodal conferences of the state churches of Anhalt, Mecklenburg, Greifswald and the administrative church region of Saxony. To be sure, this prohibition produced the certainly undesired effect of atypically extensive coverage of these conferences by the West German media which focused above all on the concern expressed at the conferences in regard to interpersonal relations in a divided Germany:

"We hope that the common ground established on 6 March will prove stable now that we are expressing our concern--on account of the increase in the minimum exchange rates--over the possibility that this new regulation may reduce the number and duration of personal contacts between families and friends or eliminate them altogether. We have seen that this situation affects pensioners and large families in particular.

This measure again brings home to us the grievous problem that we as Germans, who are connected with each other through manifold ties, live in two separate German states. Again we realize that this problem has remained unsolved--in regard to both the external and the internal aspects. The relaxation of tensions in the relations between the two German states was welcomed with gratitude and hope and many people in our country are worried about the possibility that this detente may again become undone. How do we view our relations with the people in the Federal Republic--relations that we can neither deny nor terminate, especially when we faithfully affirm our existence as GDR citizens as a divine vocation and mission. It is pointless and dangerous to put this problem under taboo, to suppress it through ideological reasoning or to suspect those who still consider and call this a problem of disloyalty toward the GDR. It is precisely for this reason that we must attain clarity on these questions."⁷

The Dialog Is Continuing

The deterioration in the general atmosphere in the fall of 1980 notwithstanding, both the individual state churches and the Church Federation are emphasizing their willingness to engage in further talks with representatives of the GDR Government. They have pointed out that their abstention from loud public protests against state repression should not be mistaken for resignation or adaptation and that the declared intention to be a "church in socialism" presupposes the ability despite all setbacks to remain open for new contacts so as to "carry out the conciliatory mission of the church even in a complex international situation."⁸ The alternative would be "pithy words of criticism about SED decisions, which would only serve to intensify the existing nervousness, but which would certainly not increase the GDR leadership's willingness to engage in discussions."⁹

In the meantime, calm has been restored. The dialog between the state and the church has been continued on different levels; the direct contact between the EKD and the Church Federation is no longer regulated by means of withholding of travel permits. To be sure, in the foreseeable future the churches cannot expect to gain greater latitude. Rather, they have been warned in no uncertain terms against considering themselves an independent "social force" and demanding from this position "participation in social decision-making and consultation processes."¹⁰

A few weeks ago, State Secretary Gysi again referred to the talks of March 1978 and he confirmed that the state would "continue to maintain a constructive and sympathetic attitude toward the concerns of the churches."¹¹ At the same time, however, he made clear that the *modus vivendi* would be in jeopardy, if the churches exceeded the limits set by the state:

"We proceed from the assumption that the separation and independence of the churches of our republic from the churches of the FRG and the tested separation of the state and the churches--i.e. noninterference by the state in intra-church affairs and

noninterference by the churches in state affairs--are as much in the interest of all of us and of the churches in particular as is the churches' self-interested advocacy of peace, disarmament and detente."

There is no doubt that any public comment on problems concerning foreign or social policy may be regarded as "interference in state affairs" and may entail corresponding reactions. Last year, on Reformation Day, Bishop Schoenherr said: "We must and will show our colors."¹² But this should not be taken to mean that the church will be pursuing a policy of confrontation; rather, it will continue to tread the narrow path between opposition and opportunism and it will "make every small step apt to promote trust."¹³

FOOTNOTES

1. See Gisela Helwig, "'Hopeful Signals.' Observations on the Dialog Between State and Church in the GDR," DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV, No 4, 1978, pp 351 ff. Hans-Juergen Roeder, "Absprachen zwischen Staat und Kirche" [Arrangements Between State and Church], op. cit., pp 353 ff.
2. See "The Relationship Between State and Church in the GDR," LUTHERISCHE WELT-INFORMATION, No 23, 1980, pp 5 ff.
3. See Report of the Conference of the Protestant Church Administrations in the GDR, reprinted in "epd-Dokumentation" [epd Documentation], 46-47, 1980, p 10.
4. Ibid., pp 10 ff.
5. Quoted from Reinhard Henkys, "Irritations in the Fall. Observations on the Latest Developments Concerning Church Policy in the GDR," KIRCHE IM SOZIALISMUS, No 5-6, 1980, pp 53-62 (55).
6. See Hartmut Jennerjahn, "Clear Boundaries Established," FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, 21 Nov 80.
7. From the report of the Church Administration to the Synod of the Administrative Church Region of Saxony, quoted from FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, 26 Nov 80.
8. See EVANGELISCHE INFORMATION, No 44, 1980, p 6.
9. Hans-Juergen Roeder, "Calculated Restraint," reprinted in EVANGELISCHE INFORMATION, No 44, 1980, pp 6-7 (7).
10. Thus Guenther Wirth, member of the board of directors of the GDR-CDU's executive board and vice president of the GDR Cultural League, in STANDPUNKT, No 1, 1981.
11. Klaus Gysi, "Committed to the Future," NEUE ZEIT, 23 Feb 81.
12. "Schoenherr: The Churches Must Show Their Colors," EVANGELISCHE INFORMATION, No 45, 1980, pp 7-8 (7).
13. Ibid., p 8.

EFFECTS OF, NEED FOR SOCIAL WELFARE POLICY DEBATED

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 8 Feb 81 p 9

[Roundtable discussion: "Current Issues in Social Welfare Policy: From the Scientists' Club Debate." In the following we are publishing details of the debate of the Television Scholars' Club heard on 6 February. The following people participated: sociologists Zsuzsa Ferge and Kalman Kulcsar, and economists Robert Hoch and Eva Szeben. Zsolt Papp led the discussion]

[Text] Kalman Kulcsar: Why are we talking about social welfare policy? Perhaps we might expand the question thus: why are we talking about social welfare policy now? Putting it this way, I could give a snappy answer. We are not just talking about social welfare policy now, but have been for some time, although occasionally it remained only at the level of talk. Social welfare policy must be dealt with more seriously now because our social development has reached the point where we should try to measure the effectiveness of everything we do. In social welfare policy, as well, we have over the past decades developed a good many instruments, we have adopted various measures, we have set up organizations, but we have only now started to measure their effectiveness. I believe that in the present economic situation, when we all know that we have to look more carefully at how we spend money, the effectiveness of social welfare policy has considerably greater significance. This, however, is only one side of the question. Because I would like to start from precisely that point, that we must look more carefully at what the money goes for. From this the conclusion could also immediately be drawn that we should not spend money on social welfare policy because the economic situation does not allow it, or that it can allow less of it. But I believe that this is not the conclusion that we must draw, but rather that social welfare policy is the kind of tool in society with which we handle certain phenomena, with which we initiate certain phenomena or do away with them, or at least exert an influence on them. The fact that we tamper with something, or not, initiates the kind of further series of phenomena, perhaps process, whose later repercussions may be equally positive or negative, but with which we must in any case reckon. If we were to overlook certain tasks of social welfare policy now by referring to our more limited material resources, or were to handle them with inadequate intensity, then unfortunate phenomena would possibly occur in our later development. Therefore, I think that social welfare policy is in no way an issue just for today, and is in no way connected with whether the economic productivity of society is high or low.

Zsolt Papp: An effective social welfare policy is therefore necessary. What is social policy? What are the views or positions on what falls within this field or province?

Robert Hoch: Without perhaps trying to give any precise determination or definition here, we usually say that social welfare policy is support for all those who are unable, temporarily or permanently, to earn an income. In the permanent category are obviously the elderly or, if you like, children; in the temporary category are, let us say, the sick. Here, in the sphere of social welfare policy, we include material policy concerning the children and last, but not least, we also include policy concerning the poor and in general those in a socially disadvantageous situation.

Zsuzsa Ferge: I think that social welfare policy is qualified to offer something to those who are themselves not capable of creating their own conditions of existence, and at the same time--as Kalman Kulcsar said--the emphasis has now turned very definitely to efficiency, primarily economic efficiency. We must take notice of and reckon with the fact that those groups who are not capable themselves of creating their conditions of existence, that is of negative economic importance, may wind up in a very bad situation. These are the same groups who are much less capable of speaking up on behalf of their own interests in a truly forceful way. Therefore, their rights will not automatically be assured, nor are they really able to enforce these themselves. For this reason the leaders of society must vigorously strive to ensure that it is not these very people who are hit hardest by the slackening of economic development.

Robert Hoch: I agree completely, but it has always been thus. In the 1960's and the beginning of the 1970's, when we were progressing at a good rate, it was feared that these very people were not adequately sharing in the favorable progress. Now, when overall development is nothing spectacular, of course the situation is more critical; in this Zsuzsa Ferge is entirely right.

Zsolt Papp: There is an opinion that social welfare policy is one of the basic pillars of socialist distribution, besides income or earnings from work. What is your opinion on this?

Robert Hoch: This is all the more worth discussing, because as a matter of fact this was not always the case and even today it is not unanimous. For all those who deal in any way with theoretical questions of social welfare policy today, the fundamental piece of literature is Marx' CRITIQUE OF THE GOTH A PROGRAM. Even from the CRITIQUE OF THE GOTH A PROGRAM it is possible to draw the conclusion that socialism is the kind of society where the form of distribution is the so-called distribution according to work. And social welfare policies soften its glaring injustices. But in studying actual social development, both I, myself, as well as others are more and more coming to the conclusion that there is at least a two-pillared distribution system. This is not identical with how great a proportion of total income goes here or there. For today wages still comprise the greater part of all income, even if in decreasing proportion--but regarding their social importance and the conscious formation of social relations, both have equal importance. The more so because we are talking about efficiency. It is a big mistake to restrict efficiency, like some head accountant, to economic efficiency, instead of talking about social efficiency in a broader sense.

Eva Szeben: I would like to add to what Robert Hoch said, but also to dispute it. From the approach with which he started it follows in effect that social welfare policy must simultaneously satisfy two mutually contradictory requirements. On the one hand, it must assist those in society who are still poor, in a disadvantageous situation, or down and out, but at the same time--he also said--it must also assist those who are not yet capable of working, no longer capable of working or temporarily

incapable of working. It appears that all of us are objects of social welfare policy from birth to retirement. From this it follows as a matter of course that the legal claims in any period are inevitably greater than the means to satisfy them. This is so not only in social welfare policy but also in income policy.

Kalman Kulcsar: I believe that there are some problems, nevertheless, with the two pillars of distribution which we now use instead of the seven pillars of wisdom. Namely, that if, we try to erect another type of pillar with distribution according to work on the one hand, interest of meeting social goals on the other which we now call social welfare policy then social welfare policy inevitably replaces social policy. However, in the distribution processes within society there is a whole series of phenomena that are no longer social welfare policy.

Zsuzsa Forgas: Perhaps we might put it as follows: Social policy strictly speaking is a large, broad system of principles that does not have its own tools. What we call social welfare policy is also at the same time a system of tools. It is one of the systems of tools of social policy. In essence, it is a system of tools that operates through distribution of rewards either in money or in kind. In this sense school policy is in no way social welfare policy; nevertheless, what the population obtains through schooling we call a grant in kind, and we classify it as social welfare policy.

In practice social welfare policy is actually a much hazier concept, theoretically much worse to handle, than social policy; at the same time it is still intelligible. But I would also like to say something else here about these certain one or two pillars. I would prefer to say, in my view, two entirely different principles must assert themselves, and do. The one principle is that society distributes in exchange for results achieved, and thereby regards the results as merit, good, work, etc. There is also a second distributive principle, which might be called the guaranteed right to existence for those who are incapable of providing for themselves. It is very easy to formulate the two principles in this way; in reality one always merges into the other. It is indeed true that even in the distribution according to work there are, intentionally or unintentionally, very often social policy considerations. Let me mention a single example! In many cases wage payments take into consideration whether it is a man or a woman or whether one is a head of a household or not. I think that here, for example, the entangling of social welfare policy in distribution according to work is very bad. The situation is the same on the other side when the weighing of merit gets intentionally or unintentionally entangled in the guaranteeing of the social welfare policy right, that is, the right of existence. In Hungary pensions developed so as to be entirely tied to earlier work performance. This is one possible system; there are many kinds in the world. We are also familiar with one that is tied simply to existence, to age, and in addition they differentiate on the basis of still other reasons. But let us look at merit. In allocating housing, besides number of children and other necessities, the regulation also takes into consideration how many times somebody has changed workplaces in the last 5 years, because the statute was formulated loyalty to the workplace was considered important. Now it is no longer considered that, because, we would like it if people would be more flexible and move more. It is worth considering that performance is entangled with precisely the socialist type of housing allocation, merit with social considerations. It may be that this example is not the best, but I would like to make clear what is at issue.

Ksolt Papp: Let me interrupt here with a question. If we say that wages will be paid according to the work accomplished, and therefore wages become an incentive, this will in all probability mean that inequities will come into being. The question arises, should social benefits compensate for or counter-balance these types of inequities? And if this too were to be realized, would it not work against the incentive?

Kalman Kulcsar: I would like to add something to this, quickly. It appears that social welfare policy has been plagued somewhat by this whole viewpoint on inequality and equality. I read that in 1940, when a parliamentary debate was in progress on the national law concerning the population and family protection fund, even Keresztes-Fischer, the minister of the interior, said that the elimination of inequities is an obligation of the state. I now believe that the elimination in inequity, as a slogan, is of little utility in social welfare policy. In a case where the distribution and wage systems are oriented to output we ask whether social welfare policy benefits do not lead to a crippling effect, then maybe we are posing the question badly. If, however, we conceive of social welfare policy as Zauza Ferge formulated it here a moment ago, as the right to existence for those who cannot provide this for themselves, then already at the outset we must ask the following question: What do we actually mean by existence? Merely that someone just vegetate, or whether this existence gives some other meaning to the development of society? If now I put all this together with the posing of the previous question, then surely social welfare policy will never reach the point of eliminating inequities arising from a wage system oriented to output, but it may reach the point of at least reducing those consequences that perhaps originate from a disadvantageous situation.

Zauza Ferge: Returning to that question: it is the opinion of many people that if we turn too much to social welfare policy, then too little is left for wage differentiation, which, however, would be an incentive. Often I have the feeling that we interpret incentive in a very short-range and terribly narrow way. As if an incentive were only to be just what somebody earns at his present workplace. I believe that there are both short-range and long-range incentives.

Falling completely under the long-range incentive is the degree of certainty with which someone knows that he will raise his children under relatively good circumstances, in a relatively good home, that when he is sick or when he grows old, etc., his existence will be a respectable existence, and that it is guaranteed.

Should social welfare policy expenditures increase or not? It is a very odd situation if we examine the statistics on how much the wage fund has grown since 1945 and how much social welfare policy expenditures have grown, then the difference is utterly startling. The one increased by a proportion of 3, the other by 15. Now I am not giving exact figures, but it is likely that the difference is about this. From this many could draw the conclusion that everything is fine here, and that indeed social welfare policy had already over-developed. However, there is also a statistical pitfall here, very well known to economists. If something starts from a very low level, then it is easy to produce very high percentages. We know that the pre-war Hungarian state actually undertook very little in the way of social welfare policy commitments. It is clear that wages were not very high, either, but nevertheless the wage system still started from a much higher level than did the social welfare policy system. Therefore, we must look not at how many times each has increased, but at

the tasks accomplished and how. And surely in the area of support for children and the aged, schools, and hospitals there is still a great deal to be done. We cannot say that we should stop here and now because we have reached Canaan already.

Several viewers: Is there poverty in Hungary?

Robert Hoch: A certain minimum existence is a function of the state of development of a society. Of our population 10-20 percent falls within the lowest income percentile. If you like, this is poverty level. Because the matter does not depend on the designation, but on the fact that the situation of these people must actually change, and in the interest of this we must take appropriate steps.

Kalman Kulcsar: I believe that the question also asks how far the problem is attributable to social, or rather, personal causes. We all know that formerly everything was attributed to personal causes: poverty, crime, alcoholism, unemployment. It was said that they do not want to work, or rather, they were born this way. I think that in the population stratum of those living in a disadvantageous situation we must see a phenomenon with a decidedly social factor and it is wrong to attribute it to personal reasons. There are many different types of disadvantages and many types of factors lead to the development of such a situation. I would mention some of them: old age, sickness, those with large families (where per capita income is divided into many pieces), disadvantageous geographic location, alcoholism, and various forms of deviant behavior. But I think the kind of employment may also be decisive. Very ordinarily low educational qualifications, thus automatically assumes that people possessing a smaller sense of direction, living on a lower cultural level, will perform it. I am thinking of one type of unskilled labor, who are also in a disadvantageous situation from the point of view of residential location and structure as well as family size, and the perpetuation of the problems in the given sphere mean the perpetuation of the whole class. I do not believe that social welfare policy benefits can help in this, at least not effectively. Rather, I believe that the problem may be more effectively treated by eliminating to a certain extent the necessity for such work. This, however, at our present level of economic development, is a very difficult task.

8971

CSO: 2500/202

POEMS BY DISSIDENT AUTHOR GOJKO DJOGO

Belgrade DELO in Serbo-Croatian Sep-Oct 1980 pp 64-65, 67-68

[Two poems by Gojko Djogo from a group entitled "Father Crnbog's House"]

[Text]

An Old Game

...about the scarecrow in the field

The spotted yellow dog, rusted now and deaf,
has planted wide his feet in the garden
and bares the teeth in his iron head.

No more can he sing
than he can laugh
and he never learned to knit
two white knots in our language.

"Perhaps he has ties to the heavens "
The black wires can't be seen
against the black of the field.

His seat itself would have folded up
if someone weren't holding it,
someone who knows how it's done
in the puppet theater.

When he sways back and forth
our ears are also pulled.
Tied by black thread
looped on someone's fingers,
we dance when he does.

Spiders, caterpillars of the gypsy moth and other grubs
spin him a silken web
and stretch our skin on his drumheads.

But the small-fry see what the score is
and no longer fear the old blatherer.

Ovid at Tomi

Those who lived in their own time
celebrated his birthday,
you didn't live in your own time
--you were waiting him out.

Thus your time has passed forever.
For that was his time
and better you hadn't lived at all
than to have lived in his time.

Those who did live were mutes and toadies,
mouthpieces and primitives, reptiles and idlers,
ticks and nits,
they all lived who were happy
to have lived in his time,
but you weren't one.

No one has a life who passes it
waiting for someone else's bell to toll.
In counting the other's days
he counts his own.

So many crosses have become charms,
torn boots and holy books,
crowns and scepters are rotting in museums
--one day his star will also fall
and children will poke it with their fingers
on the sky-blue velvet
of the pillow in the display case.

But what do you get out of it?
Those who come after won't know
that Caesar was shoed by a smitthy.

7045

CSO: 2800/258

'DIFFERENTIATION' RESISTED AT SHOCK ABSORBER PLANT

Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 1 Jun 81 p 3

[Excerpt] Ilija Vakic, president of the managing council of the complex organization of associated labor for the metals industry, said at a meeting of the LC action conference in the shock absorber plant in Pristina that "we should not be angry that we have recently been held up as a negative example in the province, because we permitted so many of our people to participate in the demonstrations. We have modern equipment, a market, but production and labor productivity are below plan. Thus, we should accept criticism in a communist way, draw lessons from this, continue ideological-political differentiation and with better work discipline become an industrial center which will enable us to live better and develop faster.

"Our people, regardless of nationality, have been able to travel everywhere without fear. But Greater-Albanian nationalists have introduced fear, have brought unrest among our peoples not only toward members of other nationalities, Serbs, Montenegrins, and others who live in Kosovo, but also among Albanians themselves. We are in need of peace and stability more than ever. Only in peace, through sobriety and responsible behavior, can we solve the problems in our development. The struggle against nationalism is a common struggle, because this is in the interest of us all. Together, we must energetically and without compromise oppose all enemies and clearly see who these people are. They cannot have a place in our ranks."

At the shock absorber factory 32 persons have been identified as participants in the demonstrations of 1 April. There was a work stoppage at this factory on 2 April. Seven members of the LC have been expelled.

Many at the meeting expressed dissatisfaction with the work of the basic LC organization at the plant because there are still [only] verbal statements in support of the LC platform, defensive behavior, and deviation from the real subject. It was concluded that a severe and concrete struggle be made against all who in any way contributed to the hostile counterrevolutionary actions, as well as against those who now want to blunt this struggle in LC organizations through their opportunist behavior.

Nazmi Krasnici said that one comrade was supposed to be expelled from the party but this was postponed to another time. Why? Individuals have been freed from responsibility or mildly penalized. On Friday we were supposed to operate on a shock-work schedule but some workers did not come to work and those who came did not arrive on time. Bogoslav Supic discussed the unrest in 1968, the work stoppage in 1979, the organized visit to Albania in 1980, and this year's demonstrations. He said "There are comrades among us who tried earlier to impede our work, yet they were not penalized but even promoted."

CSO: 2800/268

END

END OF

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June 30, 1981